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CARRY THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION THROUGH TO THE END

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DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CONCERNING THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(Adopted on August 8, 1966)

1. A NEW STAGE IN THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new

ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2. THE MAIN CURRENT AND THE TWISTS AND TURNS

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this great cultural revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring path-breakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another; however, their general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the general direction along which this revolution continues to advance.

Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the force of habits from the old society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. But after all, the great

proletarian cultural revolution is an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will be quickly broken down once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road zigzags and does not run smoothly.

3. PUT DARING ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE AND BOLDLY AROUSE THE MASSES

The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of cultural revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Tse-tung's thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to

outmoded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken unawares by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumours, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries.

4. LET THE MASSES EDUCATE THEMSELVES IN THE MOVEMENT

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy.

5. FIRMLY APPLY THE CLASS LINE OF THE PARTY

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left; it should firmly rely on the revolutionary Left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate the most reactionary Rightists thoroughly, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve

the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois Rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

6. CORRECTLY HANDLE CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any

method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same general orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

7. BE ON GUARD AGAINST THOSE WHO BRAND THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES AS "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES"

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the cultural revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters criticizing them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Central Committee of the Party, means opposition to the Party and socialism, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist Rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumours and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as "counter-revolutionaries". It is neces-

sary to beware of such "pick-pockets" and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main target, it is not allowed, under whatever pretext, to incite the masses or the students to struggle against each other. Even proven Rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

8. THE QUESTION OF CADRES

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories:

(1) good;

(2) comparatively good;

(3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists;

(4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf.

9. CULTURAL REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS, COMMITTEES AND CONGRESSES

Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups,

committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over by all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching and administrative staff and workers.

10. EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur.

11. THE QUESTION OF CRITICIZING BY NAME IN THE PRESS

In the course of the mass movement of the cultural revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities", and this should

include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

12. POLICY TOWARDS SCIENTISTS, TECHNICIANS AND ORDINARY MEMBERS OF WORKING STAFFS

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of "unity, criticism, unity". Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

13. THE QUESTION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTEGRATION WITH THE SOCIALIST EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian cultural revolution.

The great cultural revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it

to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present great proletarian cultural revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at the proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the great proletarian cultural revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

14. TAKE FIRM HOLD OF THE REVOLUTION AND STIMULATE PRODUCTION

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the cultural revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution to the development of production is incorrect.

15. THE ARMED FORCES

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16. MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT IS THE GUIDE TO ACTION IN THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Tse-tung's thought should be taken as the guide to action in the cultural revolution.

In this complex great cultural revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the cultural revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as *On New Democracy, Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership* and *Methods of Work of Party Committees.*

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses, to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they

become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

CHAIRMAN MAO JOINS A MILLION PEOPLE TO CELEBRATE THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(August 18, 1966)

On August 18, at a mass rally to celebrate the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, our great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, joined a million revolutionary people from Peking and other parts of China in the magnificent Tien An Men Square in Peking, the centre of the proletarian revolution and the capital of our great motherland.

At five o'clock in the morning when the sun had just risen above the eastern horizon and had begun shedding its brilliant rays, Chairman Mao arrived at Tien An Men Square which was covered by a vast sea of people and a forest of red flags. There he met the revolutionary people, who even earlier had converged on the square from all sides. He was dressed in an olive cotton military uniform, and a red star sparkled on his cap. He walked across Chinshui Bridge in front of Tien An Men Gate into the midst of the masses, firmly shook hands with many of them and waved to all the people in the square. The square was seething with excitement. Turning towards Chairman Mao, people raised their hands overhead and jumped up, cheered and clapped. Many clapped till their hands became sore, many shed tears of joy. "Chairman Mao is here!" they exclaimed elatedly. "Chairman Mao has come among us!" And the vast crowd in the square shouted at the top of their voice: "Long live, long live Chairman Mao!" The crescendo of cheers roared up to the sky.

Our great leader Chairman Mao spent more than six hours with the masses that morning. He stood side by side with Comrade Lin Piao on the rostrum on Tien An Men Gate and reviewed the parade of the one-million-strong army of the proletarian cultural revolution. Watching the magnificent march-past, he remarked with gratification to Comrade Lin Piao: **"This is a movement of a momentous scale. It has indeed aroused the masses. It is of very great significance to the revolutionization of the thinking of the people throughout the country."**

Tens of thousands of Red Guards, wearing red arm bands and brimming over with high spirit and vigour, caught the eye of all present. The Red Guards are revolutionary mass organizations set up in the great proletarian cultural revolution by the capital's college and middle school students. Members pledge that they will remain red vanguards defending Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party and their motherland all their lives. Representatives of the Red Guards filled the rostrum on Tien An Men Gate and the reviewing stands on both sides of the gate. Everywhere, on the rostrum, in the square, and on the boulevard running through the square, spirited Red Guards kept order at the rally.

During the rally, a Red Guard from the Girls' Middle School attached to Peking Normal University mounted the rostrum and put a red arm band of the Red Guards on Chairman Mao. The Chairman warmly shook hands with her. Red Guards on and off the rostrum were beside themselves with joy. Some of them jumped high in the air and cried with great excitement: "Chairman Mao is our supreme commander and we are his little soldiers." Some said: "Chairman Mao joins our Red Guards. This is the greatest support and inspiration to us. With Chairman Mao's backing, we have nothing to fear."

One thousand and five hundred student representatives mounted the rostrum to attend the rally together with Party and government leaders. Chairman Mao and Comrades Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, Chiang Ching and others received them in

groups, talked with them and had pictures taken together with them. When Chairman Mao received them, the students excitedly crowded around him and kept shouting "Long live Chairman Mao!"

The rally began at 7:30 in the morning. As the band played *The East Is Red*, Chairman Mao appeared on the Tien An Men tower together with Lin Piao and other comrades. The crowd leapt with joy. A great many hands, holding red-covered *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, stretched towards the rostrum. A million warm hearts flew out to Chairman Mao and a million pairs of eyes sparkling with revolutionary fervour were turned on him. The crowd became even more excited when they noticed that their respected and beloved leader was wearing a plain cotton uniform. "We feel Chairman Mao is still closer to us in military uniform," they said. "Chairman Mao always fights together with us." Some remarked: "We are wonderfully happy to have such a supreme commander as Chairman Mao. We will always be his good fighters, follow him and make revolution for the rest of our lives."

The rally was presided over by Comrade Chen Po-ta, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the group in charge of the cultural revolution under the Party's Central Committee. In his opening address, he said: "Our great leader, great teacher and great helmsman, Chairman Mao, is here today to greet you. (Here the crowd cheered Chairman Mao enthusiastically.) Chairman Mao is always with the masses. His heart is always turned towards them. Our present great proletarian cultural revolution is led by Chairman Mao himself. Today, he has come to meet us. This is a great inspiration for us. It will give a tremendous impetus to the great cultural revolution."

Comrade Lin Piao then spoke amid stormy applause. (Full text of speech on pp. 29-31.)

He was followed by Comrade Chou En-lai. (Full text of speech on pp. 39-41.)

During their speeches the one million crowd repeatedly raised their arms and shouted: "Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!" "Long live the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live, long live the great leader Chairman Mao!"

Nieh Yuan-tzu, representative of Peking University, and college and middle school students from Peking, Harbin, Changsha and Nanking also spoke at the rally. Their words were suffused with a boundless, profound and sincere feeling for their great leader Chairman Mao. Their every speech expressed the iron will of millions upon millions of revolutionary teachers and students throughout the country to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and learn Mao Tse-tung's thought and hand it on so as to ensure that our impregnable socialist state will never change colour.

"A great proletarian cultural revolution without parallel in history is being carried out in our country under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao," they declared. "This is a revolution of world significance. We will smash the old world to smithereens, create a new world and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

"Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, the growth of everything depends on the sun, and making revolution depends on Mao Tse-tung's thought. We heartily wish long life to our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. We shall obey Chairman Mao, pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. We will certainly follow Chairman Mao's teachings, face the world and brave the storms, and become most reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

"Chairman Mao is the reddest sun in our hearts. The Chinese people's revolution has never been all tranquil without storms and waves. We shall bear Chairman Mao's teachings

firmly in mind, and temper and test ourselves in great storms and waves. We will defy death to defend the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. We face a mountain of swords and a sea of flames, but we also have a bright beacon light — Mao Tse-tung's thought which will surely guide us to victory.

"Chairman Mao stands among us. This is the happiest and most important moment in our lives. We'll study his works, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good pupils for the rest of our lives."

Filled with revolutionary fervour, these speeches by revolutionary students from various parts of the country were greeted by prolonged stormy applause from the crowd in Tien An Men Square. Following the rally, the huge army of the proletarian cultural revolution, marched magnificently past Tien An Men Square to be reviewed by the great leader Chairman Mao. Revolutionary teachers and students from colleges and middle schools in Peking and other parts of the country, workers, peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and cadres working in government organizations in Peking marched militantly and with high morale past Tien An Men Square. They pledged to Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee their firm support for the decision of the Party's Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution and the Communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, and their resolve to be path-breakers in the great proletarian cultural revolution, to carry this revolution as well as the socialist revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao and Comrades Lin Piao, Chou En-lai and others reviewed the parade from the Tien An Men rostrum and waved their greetings to the million revolutionary people. In the course of the parade, Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao and others applauded the masses in the square again and again. Over and over, the people sang with gusto *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*, and they shouted "Long live, long live Chairman Mao!"

Also present at the rally were leaders of Party and state and various organizations including: Tao Chu, Teng Hsiao-ping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yun, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Yi, Ho Lung, Li Hsien-nien, Tan Chen-lin, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Yeh Chien-ying, Po I-po, Li Hsueh-feng, Hsieh Fu-chih, Liu Ning-I, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Chiang Ching, Wang Jen-chung, Wu Teh, Wu Yu-chang, Tsai Chang, Hsu Teh-li, Teng Ying-chao and Liao Cheng-chih.

(From a Hsinhua News Agency report)

CHAIRMAN MAO RECEIVES HALF A MILLION RED GUARDS AND REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

(August 31, 1966)

In the afternoon of August 31, in Peking's magnificent Tien An Men Square, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great supreme commander of the great proletarian cultural revolution and our great teacher, great leader and great helmsman, together with other leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, received half a million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from various parts of the country and from the capital.

Chairman Mao, his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, and other leaders of the Central Committee of the Party — Chou En-lai, Tao Chu, Teng Hsiao-ping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yun, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Yi, Ho Lung, Li Hsien-nien, Tan Chen-lin, Nieh Jung-chen, Yeh Chien-ying, Ulanfu, Po I-po, Li Hsueh-feng and Hsieh Fu-chih — had their warm meeting with the young revolutionary fighters at a time when China's great proletarian cultural revolution is surging to a new high tide and this tremendously inspired the soaring fighting will of the young people. The Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students who came to Peking from all parts of the country gave their solemn pledge to the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao: We will resolutely follow Chairman Mao's teachings, and we are resolved to follow the example of the People's Liberation Army, do everything according to the 16-point decision adopted by the Party's Central Committee

and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

On that day, countless red flags waved in the breeze in Tien An Men Square. Tens of thousands of Red Guards wearing red arm bands and carrying copies of red-covered *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* sang with gusto *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and other revolutionary songs. The whole square became a surging ocean of red.

At 5:40 in the afternoon, our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, and Comrade Ho Lung arrived in an open car at the Tien An Men Square and drove slowly into the midst of the masses of Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students. They were accompanied by Comrades Hsieh Fu-chih and Yang Cheng-wu. A mighty, jubilant wave of cheers rose up from the square. Everyone turned to Chairman Mao; people cheered and jumped in their excitement. As Chairman Mao's car drove slowly around the square, thousands of eyes were turned devotedly on him; thousands of revolutionary red hearts turned to the red sun. Cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao" and "Long live, long live Chairman Mao" resounded through the skies.

Chairman Mao wore an olive-green army uniform. Radiant with vigour and in buoyant spirits, he kept waving to the Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students.

Following close behind Chairman Mao's car were Comrades Chou En-lai, Tao Chu, Nieh Jung-chen and Chiang Ching riding in the second car; Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shao-chi and Chen Yi in the third car; Comrades Chu Teh, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yun and Tung Pi-wu in the fourth car; and Comrades Yeh Chien-ying, Hsiao Hua, Wang Jen-chung, Liu Chih-chien and Chang Chun-chiao in the fifth car. Comrades Yang Yung, Liao Han-sheng, Fu Chung-pi, Wu Teh, Chou Jung-hsin and Yu Sang rode in the car that served as the guide for Chairman Mao and the other leading comrades of the Party's Central Committee.

After driving around the square, Chairman Mao and other leading comrades of the Party's Central Committee mounted the Tien An Men rostrum to the sound of a band playing *The East Is Red.* More than 300 young revolutionary fighters from Peking and various parts of the country who had already gathered there by invitation enthusiastically cheered Chairman Mao and wished him long life. They also put a red scarf and a red arm band of the Red Guards on Chairman Mao.

At 6:40 the rally to receive the revolutionary teachers and students from all parts of the country was declared open by Comrade Chiang Ching, first deputy leader of the group in charge of the cultural revolution under the Party's Central Committee. Greeting all present on behalf of the cultural revolution group under the Party's Central Committee, she said: We welcome you warmly and give you revolutionary greetings.

There was prolonged, enthusiastic applause when Comrade Lin Piao began to speak. (Full text of speech on pp. 32-34.)

Comrade Chou En-lai spoke next. (Full text of speech on pp. 42-45.)

Speaking at the rally, the revolutionary students of Peking extended an enthusiastic welcome to their revolutionary comrades-in-arms from all parts of the country.

Revolutionary students from east, northeast, north, central-south, southwest and northwest China also spoke at the rally. They declared:

"We feel boundlessly happy now that we stand by the side of our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao. We are here to learn from the Red Guards of the capital. We are here to gain from their successful experience. We are determined to carry back with us the dauntless revolutionary spirit of Peking's Red Guards, the spirit of daring to think, to speak out, to act, to break through and to make revolution so that all of China will be set ablaze by the revolutionary flame of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

These revolutionary students also said:

"With the great helmsman Chairman Mao steering for us and with the brilliant Mao Tse-tung's thought lighting our way of advance, we are dauntless. We are fully confident and resolved to create a completely new world with our own hands. Through this great proletarian cultural revolution, we shall eradicate the roots of revisionism in our country so that our beloved motherland will for ever keep its bright red colour!

"The banner and arm band of the Red Guard fighters are a bright red, and so are our hearts. Completely loyal, we'll follow the Party and Chairman Mao for ever to make revolution and carry it through to the end!

"We Red Guards follow Chairman Mao's teachings most faithfully. We'll work hard to learn from the People's Liberation Army. We'll seriously study the 16-point decision, know it well and apply it. We'll persist in carrying on the struggle by reasoning and not by coercion or force. And we pledge to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end."

When night fell, the Tien An Men rostrum and buildings on all sides of the square were brightly lit by a myriad lights. Chairman Mao walked to the east and then to the west end of the rostrum amid cheers from the crowd and waved to them once again. Shouts of "Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Long live the Communist Party of China!" "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!" reverberated over the capital.

Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, and his wife Madeleine Grippa, who are currently visiting China, also attended the rally by invitation. Chairman Mao greeted them cordially on the Tien An Men rostrum.

Also present at the rally were leaders of the Party and state and various organizations including Liu Ning-I, Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao and Liao Cheng-chih.

(From a Hsinhua News Agency report)

CHAIRMAN MAO ONCE AGAIN RECEIVES A MILLION YOUNG REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTERS

(September 15, 1966)

On the afternoon of September 15, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader, great teacher, great supreme commander and great helmsman, received once again a million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from Peking and all parts of the country in Tien An Men Square in Peking, the capital of our great motherland and the centre of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Under an early morning bright blue sky the young revolutionary fighters from universities, colleges and middle schools began to trek from all directions into the square and part of the wide boulevard that runs through it. Among the mass of people could be seen a stream of portraits of Chairman Mao, placards inscribed with his quotations and a blaze of red flags that waved in the breeze. The sound of revolutionary songs crashed out in the square. The hearts of the young revolutionaries beat fast and their eyes became fixed on the Tien An Men rostrum as the happiest moment in their lives ticked closer.

At 5:15 in the afternoon, our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao mounted the Tien An Men rostrum to the sound of a band playing *The East Is Red.* With them were other leaders of the Party's Central Committee including Chou En-lai, Tao Chu, Chen Po-ta, Teng Hsiao-ping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yun, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Yi, Liu Po-cheng, Ho Lung, Li

Hsien-nien, Tan Chen-lin, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsueh-feng and Hsieh Fu-chih. At that moment, a wave of wild excitement ran through the whole square. In brilliant sunlight a million hands repeatedly held up red-covered *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung,* turning the square into a sea of rippling waves. Thunderous cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live, long live Chairman Mao!" rolled over the square.

Then three hundred representatives of the revolutionary students from all over China climbed on to Tien An Men rostrum. There they shouted and jumped with joy by the side of Chairman Mao.

Ten thousand revolutionary instructors and cadets from academies of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were with the heroic Red Guards to be reviewed by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao.

The rally was opened by Comrade Kang Sheng, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and adviser to the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee. He said: "I welcome and greet you on behalf of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee, and in the name of the proletarian cultural revolution, extend militant salutations to you and through you, to the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers in all the schools throughout the country!" "Our great leader Chairman Mao has come to receive us," he added. "Let us shout: Long live the ever-triumphant thought of Mao Tse-tung! Long live Chairman Mao!"

Amidst thunderous applause, Comrade Lin Piao then addressed the rally. (Full text of speech on pp. 35-38.)

He was followed by Comrade Chou En-lai. (Full text of speech on pp. 46-48.)

Red Guard representatives from the capital who spoke at the meeting warmly welcomed their revolutionary comrades-in-arms from the other parts of China. They said that they

should all the better support each other, help each other and learn from each other in the great cultural revolution.

Representatives of revolutionary students from the north, southwest, east, northeast, northwest and central-south China also spoke at the rally. They said:

"Our long-cherished wish to see our great leader Chairman Mao has at last come true today. This is our greatest moment of happiness.

"We the people of all nationalities always have a boundless love for Chairman Mao. We will always follow Chairman Mao's teachings, always follow Chairman Mao in making revolution. We will never forget the deepest concern shown us by the great Chinese Communist Party and our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao.

"We are the heirs of the revolution, sons of the people. We will temper ourselves and become matured in the storms of class struggle. We will always be loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the Party and to the people. Our great leader Chairman Mao, we are determined to march with you in the storms, to learn swimming by swimming and revolution by making revolution. We pledge to become a generation of path-breakers who dare to struggle and make revolution and are good at doing so.

"We will hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and we are determined to take back with us the experience gained from the revolutionary struggle in Peking. Whatever we do we will act according to Chairman Mao's instructions and the 16-point decision. We will give full play to the proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit, resolutely overthrow those in authority who are taking the capitalist road, make a clean sweep of all ghosts and monsters, successfully carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution in our own areas and completely dig up the roots of revisionism."

At the end of the speeches, Chairman Mao walked to the east and west wings of the Tien An Men rostrum amid enthusiastic cheers and waved again and again to all present. On

the terraces on either side of the Tien An Men tower, Chairman Mao received the three hundred representatives of revolutionary students and had photographs taken with them.

After dark, the Tien An Men rostrum and the buildings around the square were floodlit. Following instructions from the organizers of the rally, the several hundred thousand revolutionary students in the square began to move in perfect order towards the south to make room for the hundreds of thousands of young revolutionary fighters on the outskirts of the square who were eager to see Chairman Mao.

At 8:30 p.m., our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao and other leaders of the Party's Central Committee once again appeared on the Tien An Men rostrum. Chairman Mao waved repeatedly to the revolutionary teachers and students. Amid thunderous applause and cheers, Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Piao and other leaders of the Central Committee walked again to the east and west wings of the Tien An Men rostrum and once more greeted the masses of young revolutionary fighters. Roars of "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!" echoed and re-echoed over the capital. The whole square was in a sparkling festive mood as the million young revolutionary fighters became infused with an indescribable joy.

Comrade E. F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), and his wife Joyce Hill, who are now visiting China, attended the rally by invitation and were cordially met by Chairman Mao on the Tien An Men rostrum.

Also present at the rally were leaders of the Party and state and various organizations including Liu Ning-I, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Chiang Ching, Wang Jen-chung, Wu Teh, Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao and Liao Cheng-chih.

(From a Hsinhua News Agency report)

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT THE MASS RALLY CELEBRATING THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(August 18, 1966)

Comrades, Students:

First of all, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao and on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, I give you greetings!

We firmly support your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to break through, to act, to make revolution and to rise up in rebellion!

Our Chairman Mao is the highest commander of this great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao is the supreme commander. Under the guidance of the great supreme commander, Chairman Mao, and faithfully following his instructions, we will certainly carry the great cultural revolution forward smoothly and win a great victory!

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated by Chairman Mao is a great creation in the communist movement, a great creation in the socialist revolution!

The great proletarian cultural revolution is aimed precisely at eliminating bourgeois ideology, establishing proletarian ideology, remoulding people's souls, revolutionizing their ideology, digging out the roots of revisionism, and consolidating and developing the socialist system.

We will overthrow those in authority who are taking the capitalist road, overthrow the reactionary bourgeois author-

ities and all bourgeois royalists, oppose any act to suppress the revolution, and overthrow all ghosts and monsters!

We will energetically eradicate all the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes, and transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. We will sweep out all the vermin and remove all obstacles!

We will make vigorous efforts to establish proletarian authorities and the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat. In a word, we will work with great energy so that Mao Tse-tung's thought achieves complete ascendancy. We will enable hundreds of millions of people to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, ensure that it seizes all ideological positions, apply it in transforming the mental outlook of the whole of society, and enable Mao Tse-tung's thought, this great spiritual force, to transform into a great material force!

The current great cultural revolution is a tremendous event affecting the destiny and the future of our Party and our country!

On what do we rely to make this great cultural revolution successful? We rely on the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and on the wisdom and strength of the masses!

Chairman Mao is the most outstanding leader of the proletariat in the present era and the greatest genius in the present era. Chairman Mao has the strongest faith in the masses. He pays the greatest attention to them. He gives the strongest support to the revolutionary movement of the masses. His heart beats with the hearts of the revolutionary masses!

Mao Tse-tung's thought marks a completely new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. It is Marxism-Leninism at the highest level in the present era. It is contemporary Marxism-Leninism for remoulding the souls of the people. It is the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat.

The people are the makers of history. Once they master Mao Tse-tung's thought, they will become the wisest and the most courageous people, capable of exerting inexhaustible strength!

With the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and having mastered Mao Tse-tung's thought which is the sharpest weapon, we will be invincible and all-conquering and will achieve complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

The Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution recently promulgated by the Party's Central Committee was drawn up under the personal direction of the great leader Chairman Mao. It is the magnificent programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the latest embodiment of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must resolutely act in accordance with this decision, arouse the masses boldly, firmly oppose any methods of doing things which the masses should be left to do for themselves, firmly rely on the revolutionary Left, win over the middle and unite with the great majority, concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary Rightists, and thus carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

The great cultural revolution is a long-term task. In-between, there will be campaigns and small campaigns. It will last a very long time. So long as bourgeois ideology exists, we will fight on to the end!

The present campaign is a big one; it is a general attack on the ideas of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, we must launch fierce attacks on bourgeois ideology, old customs and old forces of habit! We must thoroughly topple, smash and discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionists, bourgeois Rightists and reactionary bourgeois authorities, and they must never be allowed to rise again!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Chinese people!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT THE PEKING RALLY TO RECEIVE REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FROM ALL PARTS OF CHINA

(August 31, 1966)

Comrades, Students, Red Guard Fighters:

On behalf of our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, I extend greetings to you students coming from all parts of the country; greetings to you all! On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I greet you all!

Students! You have come to Peking and have been exchanging experience in the great cultural revolution with the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking. You have travelled a long way and worked hard! We are confident that after your return, you will work even better, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and the 16-point decision of the Party's Central Committee, to break down all resistance, overcome all difficulties and develop the great proletarian cultural revolution with even greater vigour and vitality!

The present situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution is very fine!

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people have been springing up like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. They take to the streets to sweep away the "four olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits — *Tr.*]. The great cultural revolution has already touched on politics and on economics. The struggle [to overthrow those

persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], the criticism and repudiation [of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and the transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base] in the schools have been extended to the whole of society. The revolutionary torrents of the masses are washing away all the mire left over from the old society, and are changing the whole face of society in our country.

Young revolutionary fighters! Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee warmly acclaim your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak up, to act, to break through and to make revolution. You have done a great deal of good things. You have put forward a great deal of proposals. We are greatly elated, and we warmly support you! We firmly oppose any attempt that is made to suppress you! Your revolutionary actions are very fine! We hail you, and salute you!

Comrades, students!

We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings; dare to struggle and dare to make revolution and be good at waging struggles and at making revolution. We must take Mao Tse-tung's thought as our compass in the great proletarian cultural revolution and carry out the 16-point decision seriously, fully, thoroughly and without reservation.

We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, distinguish who are our enemies and who are our friends. Attention must be paid to uniting with the great majority, and concentrating forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. The main target of the attack is those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It is essential to hold fast to this main orientation in the struggle.

We must act in accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao, and carry out the struggle by reasoning and not by

coercion or force. Don't hit people. This applies also to the struggle against those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road as well as to the struggle against landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Coercion or force in the struggle against them can only touch their skins. Only by reasoning is it possible to touch their souls. Only by reasoning, by exposing them fully and criticizing them profoundly, is it possible to expose their counter-revolutionary features thoroughly, isolate them to the fullest extent, discredit them, refute them and overthrow them.

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people in the colleges and middle schools are the shock force in the great cultural revolution and a powerful reserve force of the People's Liberation Army.

Students and Red Guard fighters! Always be loyal to the Party, to the people, to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Work hard to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively; make big efforts to apply what you study. Serve the people wholeheartedly, keep in close contact with the masses, be exemplary in carrying out the Party's policies, safeguard the interests of the people, protect state property, and abide by the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.

Students! Provided we earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and act according to his instructions, the great proletarian cultural revolution can certainly achieve great victories! Let imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries tremble before our victories!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader, Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT THE PEKING RALLY TO RECEIVE REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FROM ALL PARTS OF CHINA

(September 15, 1966)

Comrades, Students, Red Guard Fighters:

In order to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution well, you have come from all parts of the country to Peking, and are here by the side of our great leader Chairman Mao. You have travelled a long way and worked hard! I greet you on behalf of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party. We extend you a warm welcome!

Led by Chairman Mao, and guided by the 16-point decision drawn up under his leadership, the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is advancing triumphantly on a nation-wide scale. The situation is very fine! It is getting finer every day.

Red Guard fighters, revolutionary students, the general orientation of your struggle has always been correct. Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee firmly support you! So do the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers! Your revolutionary actions have shaken the whole of society and given a blow to the dregs and remnant evil elements from the old world. You have scored brilliant successes in the vigorous fight to destroy the "four olds" and foster the "four news". You have created utter consternation among those in authority who are taking the capitalist road,

the reactionary bourgeois "authorities", and bloodsuckers and parasites. You have acted correctly and done well!

Chairman Mao teaches us that the fundamental contradiction to be solved by the great proletarian cultural revolution is the contradiction between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. The main target of attack in the present movement is those in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. To bombard the headquarters is to bombard the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The leadership of our country is in the hands of the proletariat. It is precisely for the purpose of consolidating and strengthening our dictatorship of the proletariat that we must struggle against and overthrow the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. Quite clearly, the handful of reactionary bourgeois elements, and those belonging to the five categories of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not really turned over a new leaf, are different from us. They oppose the dictatorship exercised over them by the broad masses of revolutionary people headed by the proletariat, and they are trying to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution. Can we tolerate these actions? No, we must smash the plots of these ghosts and monsters, we must see through them, we must not let their schemes succeed. They are only a small handful, but they can deceive some good people at times. We must keep firmly to the general orientation of our struggle. Any deviation from this general orientation will lead us astray.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary students have a common aim and their orientation is the same. All of them must unite and go forward hand in hand under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Some people are now going against Chairman Mao's instructions and the 16-point decision. By exploiting the profound class feelings of the masses of workers and peasants for the Party and Chairman Mao, they are creating antagonism between the masses of workers and peasants and the revolutionary students and are inciting the former to struggle against the latter. Under no circumstances must we let them hoodwink us!

The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, have always been the main force of the revolution in our country. Today, they are the main force of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country and also the main force in the country's great proletarian cultural revolution.

Our workers, peasants and soldiers must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and stand fast at their posts in production and combat stations. They must stand firmly on the side of the revolutionary students, support their revolutionary actions and give them powerful backing.

The Red Guards and all revolutionary youth are good sons and daughters of the Chinese people. You must learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers. Learn from them their extremely firm revolutionary stand and their most thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. Learn from them their high sense of organization and discipline and all their other fine qualities. Like the workers, peasants and soldiers, be forever loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the Party and to the people and temper yourselves in the great storm of the revolutionary struggle to become successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Led by Chairman Mao, our great leader, great teacher, great supreme commander and great helmsman, and under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, let the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary students unite, let

all revolutionary comrades unite, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the ever-triumphant thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH AT THE MASS RALLY CELEBRATING THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(August 18, 1966)

Comrades, Students:

How are you all?

Greetings and proletarian revolutionary salutations to you!

We express our warm welcome to the revolutionary students, teachers, staff members and workers who have come from different parts of the country! You've travelled a long way and worked hard!

The Central Committee of the Party has just held its Eleventh Plenary Session. This session was presided over by Chairman Mao himself. It was a meeting of great historic significance. Its success is a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the last few days all Peking has been astir with joy as have been the towns and rural areas throughout the country. To the accompaniment of gongs and drums, people everywhere are sending their messages of greetings, holding celebration meetings and giving their pledges. Hundreds of millions of people have plunged into the mighty current of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Today, together with our great leader Chairman Mao, we are holding a celebration rally here in Tien An Men Square to greet the new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

The 16-point decision adopted by this session was formulated under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao and is the

programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary comrades should conscientiously study it, become familiar with it, grasp it and apply it. It is the weapon with which we fight in the great proletarian cultural revolution and it is our compass for action. We must study and apply this great programme well and carry it through in our practical action.

Chairman Mao has taught us that we must rely on ourselves to make revolution. We will educate ourselves, liberate ourselves and rise up ourselves to make revolution. All revolutionaries should serve the people wholeheartedly and be the servants of the people. They should be pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. They should set themselves firmly against any methods of doing things which the masses should be left to do for themselves, against acting as high and mighty bureaucrats, standing above the masses and blindly ordering them about.

We hope that the revolutionary students of Peking and those from other parts of the country will learn from each other, support one another, exchange their revolutionary experience and strengthen their revolutionary unity. You students of the capital are the hosts; you should receive the guests well, develop the spirit of proletarian class friendship, enthusiastically help them solve difficulties and when questions crop up properly consult with them.

The main task of the revolutionary teachers and students both in Peking and in other parts of the country is to carry out the great cultural revolution well in their own schools: do a good job, first, in struggling [for the overthrow of those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], second, in criticizing and repudiating [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes], and third, in transforming [education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base]. This is both a very glorious and arduous task.

You must dare to shoulder this task by yourselves and we believe you can certainly do it!

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must destroy bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology with the utmost vigour, that is, vigorously establish the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Sailing the seas depends on the man at the helm and our great helmsman is Chairman Mao. We must respond to the call of Comrade Lin Piao to unfold to an even greater extent the mass movement to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works throughout the Party, the army and the country.

We must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, carry through to the end the great proletarian cultural revolution, build socialist China into an impregnable proletarian state and fulfil the glorious historic mission entrusted to us by the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH AT THE PEKING RALLY TO RECEIVE REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FROM ALL PARTS OF CHINA

(August 31, 1966)

Comrades! Students!

Greetings to you!

You have come from all parts of the motherland to Peking, the centre of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the people's capital. We extend a warm welcome to you.

Peking is where Chairman Mao lives. Our great leader, Chairman Mao, is the great supreme commander of the proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao is our great teacher and great helmsman. He is the red sun in our hearts.

The great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated by Chairman Mao himself. His heart beats with the hearts of the masses. He has boundless faith in the masses and supports their initiative. The revolutionary people of the whole country have enthusiastically responded to Chairman Mao's call and have brought about a vigorous upsurge in the great cultural revolution.

The Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, is the programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This document tells us that it is imperative to let the masses themselves educate themselves, to let the masses themselves liberate themselves, and to let the masses themselves rise up and make revolution. We must use

this decision as our weapon in the fight and take it as the guide for our actions in carrying forward the great proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary comrades should earnestly and repeatedly study this decision, know it well, grasp it and apply it.

A new upsurge is now under way in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Young people in all parts of the country have formed Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations. This is a great revolutionary creation. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, our young Red Guards have acted as a shock force in the assault against enemy positions, destroying the "four-olds" and fostering the "four-news" [new ideas, culture, customs and habits]. Your spirit of daring to think, speak up, act and break through and daring to make revolution and daring to rebel has the warm support of the worker, peasant and soldier masses and revolutionary cadres throughout the country. We acclaim the heroic Red Guards! Salute to our Red Guards! Salute to the revolutionary young people!

Our Red Guards have been set up with the Liberation Army as their example. It is their militant slogan to make all-out efforts to learn from the Liberation Army. Like the Liberation Army, our Red Guards should hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions, and study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way; always be the good pupils and good soldiers of Chairman Mao; always be loyal to the Party, to the people, to Chairman Mao, and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Like the Liberation Army, they should serve the people wholeheartedly, maintain close ties with the masses, implement the mass line and always be faithful servants of the people. They should learn the "three-eight" working style of the Liberation Army, observe the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention, protect the interests of the

masses, defend state property and create a good new atmosphere of socialism. The Red Guards must be built into a highly organized and disciplined militant force with a high level of political consciousness and become the reliable reserve force of the Liberation Army.

We must have the daring to struggle and we must be good at struggling. Pay attention at all times to using the method of class analysis, developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle, uniting with the great majority and concentrating all forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. Use reasoning, not coercion or force in struggle. Only through reasoning, can we educate the masses, can we most effectively overthrow the enemy. Our Red Guards will surely mature in the struggle and become path-breakers who display both wisdom and courage.

At present, students in various parts of the country are coming to Peking to exchange experience and students in Peking are going to other places to establish revolutionary ties. We think that this is a very good thing. We support you. The Party's Central Committee has decided that all college students and representatives of middle school students in the other parts of the country should come to Peking group after group at different times. Local students and students from other places should strengthen their revolutionary unity on the principle of making joint efforts to make the great cultural revolution a success. Problems and differences of opinion should be solved through investigation, study and through consultations on an equal footing. Everybody knows that the great cultural revolution in every locality and in every unit must be carried out by relying on the masses themselves in that locality and that unit, for only then can it really be carried out well and thoroughly. We believe that the revolutionary action of building contacts on a nationwide scale will certainly and potently deepen the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrades! Students!

Revolution is no easy matter. To win victory, all resistance and difficulties must be overcome. We are confident that you will surely hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, grasp and apply the 16-point decision which was formulated under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, and, together with the worker, peasant and soldier masses, with the broad revolutionary masses, while relying on your own efforts, overcome all resistance and difficulties to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the very end.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great proletarian dictatorship!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader, Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH AT THE PEKING RALLY TO RECEIVE REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FROM ALL PARTS OF CHINA

(September 15, 1966)

Comrades, Students:

We warmly welcome you! We welcome you who have come from all parts of the country to Peking, the centre of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and are here by the side of our great leader Chairman Mao.

By cordially meeting us, Chairman Mao — our most respected and beloved leader — shows his greatest concern for us and gives us the greatest encouragement! This is our greatest happiness, our greatest honour!

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution transforming the very souls of people; it is also a great revolution promoting social production.

The 16-point decision drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance stipulates:

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country."

"The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work."

With the upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution, a newer and more flourishing situation is appearing in our country's industrial and agricultural production.

It is very important to do a good job in industrial and agricultural production. It is important for our socialist construction, for our Third Five-Year Plan, for the people's livelihood in town and country, and for the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is also important for the support and assistance we are giving to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and to the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world.

We must respond to Chairman Mao's call to take a firm hold of the revolution with one hand and spur production on with the other so as to ensure victory in both the great cultural revolution and in industrial and agricultural production!

The broad masses of workers, commune members, scientific and technical personnel and functionaries of Party, government and public organizations and enterprises should remain firmly at their posts in production, grasp the link of production in good time and apply the soaring enthusiasm and energy generated in the great cultural revolution to industrial and agricultural production and scientific experimentation!

Comrades, students!

In order to facilitate the normal progress of industrial and agricultural production, the Red Guards and revolutionary students from the universities, colleges and middle schools should now not go to the factories and enterprises, and to Party, government and public organizations of county level and below, and rural people's communes to establish revolutionary ties. The revolution in these places should proceed in a planned and systematic way in accordance with the original arrangements for the "four clean-ups" movement.[1]

[1] The socialist education movement to clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. — *Tr.*

Factories and rural areas cannot take time-off like the schools and stop production to make revolution. Revolutionary students should respect the masses of workers and peasants, trust them and have confidence in their being fully able to successfully make revolution on their own.

The tremendously busy autumn season of harvesting and sowing is here. The Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from the universities, colleges and middle schools should organize themselves and go and work in the countryside, help bring in the autumn harvest and learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants their revolutionary zeal and fine qualities of diligence.

Comrades, students! You have played a very big role in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We warmly acclaim and firmly support your revolutionary actions. We are convinced you will hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, learn how to make revolution in the revolution, and temper yourselves to become good soldiers and pupils of Chairman Mao — a new generation of communists!

Carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Take firm hold of the revolution, spur production and usher in a new upsurge in socialist construction!

Long live the great people of all the nationalities in China!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

MASTER THE IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON OF THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(Editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, August 11, 1966)

The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has enabled the people of our country to hear the voice of our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

This decision sums up the new experiences which have been created by the broad masses of China in the course of the proletarian cultural revolution. It reflects their revolutionary initiative.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: Our policy must be made known not only to the leaders and to the cadres but also to the broad masses. Once the masses know the truth and have a common aim, they will work with one heart. When the masses are of one heart, everything becomes easy.

The broad worker, peasant and soldier masses, all the members of the Communist Party, revolutionary members of the working staffs, revolutionary intellectuals, teachers and students should all earnestly study this decision of the Central Committee of the Party. They should familiarize themselves with it, be well versed in it and apply it. In the light of the principles and policies laid down in this decision, they should make a comparative study of the situation of the cultural revolution in their own units in the previous period, continue to do accordingly what is right, resolutely correct what is wrong, and do what remains to be done.

There are two opposite principles, policies and methods of work. One is to trust the masses, rely on them and boldly

arouse them, believing that they are capable of liberating and educating themselves in the course of the movement, and giving enthusiastic support to their revolutionary spirit and revolutionary action. The other is to stand on the opposite side to the masses and suppress them at the crucial moment of the revolution. The former represents the putting into practice of the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, whereas the latter is the implementation of the erroneous line in opposition to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is necessary resolutely to block, repudiate and struggle against the erroneous line. Only in this way will it be possible to fully implement the correct line and carry the great cultural revolution through to victory.

The proletarian cultural revolution is an unprecedented, great revolution. Such a revolution inevitably meets with resistance of various kinds. Just as the decision points out, "At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn." To carry through and implement this decision of the Party's Central Committee, it is necessary to struggle against the erroneous line within the Party, against opportunism of one kind or another, and against the force of habits from the old society.

Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." [English edition, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p. 57.]

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is for the elimination of the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, for the liquidation of the old ideas, culture, customs and habits which prepare the ground for a capitalist restoration, and to enable the broadest masses to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought so that they can create the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of socialism.

After mastering this powerful ideological weapon — the decision of the Party's Central Committee — the 700 million Chinese people will surely be able to unite still more closely, to burst through all obstacles and, with the force of an avalanche, to overthrow those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and to sweep away all ghosts and monsters.

SAILING THE SEAS DEPENDS ON THE HELMSMAN

(Editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, August 15, 1966)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally presided over the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which was held in a new stage of China's socialist revolution, at a crucial juncture in the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This session is a milestone marking the new stage of our country's socialist revolution.

In socialist countries, there still exists the question of which road to take after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. The question sharply posed before people is whether to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and make the gradual transition to communism, or to stop half-way and retrogress towards capitalism. By summing up and drawing upon both the positive and the negative experiences of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has furnished the theoretical answer to this question, and is gradually solving the question in practice.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, which was held in 1962, Comrade Mao Tse-tung once again stressed the theory of contradictions, of classes and class struggle in socialist society and issued the great call: never forget class struggle. Furthermore, during the past few years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has put forward a series of brilliant policies which are of decisive and fundamental importance to socialist revolution and socialist construction; a series of important directives with regard to the socialist education movement and the great proletarian cultural revolution; and a series of important guiding principles on opposition to imperialism, on the establishment of the broadest possible international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, on opposition to modern revisionism and support for the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. All these are fundamental questions for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country, for preventing revisionist usurpation of the Party and state leadership, for preventing the restoration of capitalism and for ensuring China's adherence to proletarian internationalism.

Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman!

The great helmsman of our revolution is Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

It is just because our Party and people have a helmsman of such genius as Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as the compass, to chart the correct course through heavy fog that, during the past few decades, at each important moment of our revolution, the great ship of our revolution has been able to steer clear of the countless dangerous shoals and hidden rocks and advance victoriously along the revolutionary course of Marxism-Leninism in the teeth of great storms and waves.

Lenin said: "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." This is perfectly true. Without Mao Tse-tung's thought, there would never have been the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, or the victory of our democratic revolution and socialist revolution, or the new China. Without Mao Tse-tung's thought, it would have been impossible to build China into a great socialist country or to enable the Chinese people to always stand erect in the world and to march forward constantly.

Comrade Lin Piao has very aptly explained the supreme importance of Mao Tse-tung's thought for the Chinese revolution and for the future of China. He said: "China is a great socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat with a population of 700 million. It needs a unified, revolutionary and correct thought. That is the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

The fundamental task of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is to ensure that Mao Tse-tung's thought shall be grasped by the greatest possible number of people, to further promote the revolutionization of the people's thinking and turn the spiritual force into a gigantic material force for the transformation of society and nature.

Let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, rally even more closely round the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, carry out energetically the policies set down in the Communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, unite with all those with whom it is possible to unite, and, relying on our own strength and working vigorously, overcome all resistance and all difficulties and so carry through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the socialist revolution and the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism to the very end.

Strive to build China into a powerful socialist country!

Strive to unite with the people of all countries to build a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation of man by man!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!

Long live the great unity of the peoples of the world!

LEARN TO SWIM BY SWIMMING

(Editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, August 17, 1966)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often told us that every revolutionary and every revolutionary youth should go out to face the world and brave the storm. A revolutionary cannot grow up like a hot-house plant. He must toughen himself braving great storms and waves.

When we learn to swim, we do not learn to swim first and then go into the water. We learn to swim by swimming.

When we make revolution it is also not a matter of learning first and then doing, but of learning in the course of doing, or rather, of doing and then learning. Doing is itself learning.

Every revolutionary, every revolutionary youth must take an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and in this struggle acquire the ability to wage the class struggle, so as to make himself a truly good pupil of Chairman Mao and a worthy successor to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

Marx said: "In learning to walk, one learns also to tumble, and, only by tumbling, does one learn to walk."

Lu Hsun also said: "To adult eyes, a toddler's first step is certainly childish, dangerous, awkward or positively ridiculous. But however foolish a woman may be, she looks forward eagerly to her baby's first step."

Revolution is no easy affair. To carry the revolution to victory, all resistance has to be overcome, every difficulty has to be surmounted. Revolutionary young people must go out among the masses, live and work with them, and get covered with muck and grease again and again, so that they will be

able to stand countless tests in the struggle and every kind of unexpected setback.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us that we should never divorce ourselves from the masses. By being with the masses we shall get to know them, understand them, and so be able to serve the people well.

We must never forget that we are all sons and daughters of the people, and that the working people have nurtured us with their sweat and blood. Never must we forget this. We must always bear in mind that the working people are our fathers and mothers, and that we, as sons and pupils of the people, must have the greatest respect for them. We must always be with the masses of the people and never at any time shall we forget them.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must study hard Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works and the 16-point decision. Only by mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought, this great ideological weapon, can we carry forward this struggle successfully. And it is only in the course of struggle that we can really learn to master Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We must continually remould ourselves in the course of struggle. As long as we live, we shall continue to work, study, and remould ourselves. Only in this way can we possibly make our necessary contribution to our country and to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

Guided by the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought, let us fight bravely in the mighty current of the great cultural revolution which is surging forward so powerfully.

IT'S FINE!

(Editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, August 23, 1966)

We hail the proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit of the young Red Guard fighters of Peking!

Chairman Mao has said: "In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: 'To rebel is justified.' "

The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel,
And the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust.

With Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon, the young Red Guard fighters are sweeping away the dust of the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of all the exploiting classes.

Peking has been liberated for 17 years. But, as a result of prolonged control and repression by the revisionist former Peking municipal Party committee, the names of many places and shops and quite a few outworn customs and bad habits in the service trades are still emitting rotten feudal and capitalist odours and poisoning people's souls. The broad masses of the revolutionary people can no longer tolerate this.

Where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself. Tens of thousands of Red Guards have wielded iron brooms and within the short space of a few days have swept away many names and customs and habits representing the ideology of the exploiting classes.

This is a revolutionary action to destroy the old and establish the new. New names, new customs and new habits glittering with the proletarian revolutionary spirit, have added boundless

glory to our great capital, the centre of the proletarian revolution.

Revolutionary signs and inscriptions are everywhere. Everywhere there are revolutionary words and songs. Every street, every store and every trade must become a school for the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought and a centre for the dissemination, implementation and defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is illuminating every corner.

This is a great event which lifts up our hearts; a joyous event which fills us with a great happiness.

The revolutionary spirit of the Red Guards will enable our country and people to preserve their revolutionary youth for ever.

The revolutionary action of the Red Guards is a mighty torrent that cannot be stayed by any old conservative forces.

The proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit of the Red Guards is very fine indeed!

把无产阶級文化大革命进行到底

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